

5-7,77,7J

[Shri N. G. Goray]

Madam, with this, we all of us withdraw from the House.

(At this stage some hon. Members left the Chamber)

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE. THE
CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF
THE
PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE
PRESIDENT IN RELATION TO THE
STATE OF NAGALAND**

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS
(SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY) :
Madam, I beg to move the following Reso-
lution :

"This House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 22nd March, 1975, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Nagaland, for a further period of six months with effect from the 26th September, 1975."

All of you are aware that a situation had arisen in March, 1975, in which the Government of Nagaland could not be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution thereby necessitating the issue of the Proclamation dated 22nd March, 1975, regarding Presidential Rule in Nagaland. The Assembly was, however, not dissolved but only suspended, since the Governor had said in his report dated 20th March, 1975 that it would not be advisable to dissolve the legislature but the possibility of forming another Ministry should be explored after some time and in a cooler atmosphere. The Governor had also observed, and I quote :

"One cannot reasonably expect that another Ministry if formed out of the present Legislature would be stable, or that unprincipled defections, induced by lure of office, would not continue. This would be an unhappy and disturbing situation in any State, and it is particularly so in a State which has special security problems because of insurgency

with the insurgents maintaining contact with and securing arms from foreign countries . . ." 5 P.M.

It is only a fresh election at which the electors may withhold their support from defectors that holds out the prospect of a fully stable Ministry.

In his subsequent report, dated the 18th May, 1975, the Governor stated "In view of the instances of shifting loyalties during the last five months or so, one could not reasonably expect that a Ministry now formed would be stable. Apart from the scale and frequency of defections, there have been allegations from both sides that Members had been taken away more or less against their will and kept under duress, that in addition to offer of ministerial offices, substantial amounts of money had been offered or paid in certain cases. The reports I have received from independent sources suggest that these allegations are not fully unfounded." The Governor, therefore, recommended that the Nagaland Legislative Assembly might be dissolved. The recommendations of the Governor were accepted and the President dissolved the Nagaland Legislative Assembly under article 174(2) of the Constitution on the 20th May, 1975.

Now, Madam, the situation in Nagaland, after the President took over, has shown considerable improvement and I think regarding the violent incidents that has happening or with regard to kidnappings or recruitments etc, that were being made previously, they have been considerably reduced.

In fact, the security forces have been able to be very vigilant and many hostiles have been arrested and many have surrendered during this year after the President has taken over. Among the most notable arrests has been that of the self-styled commissioner, and Midan Piyu, of Lower Sema area. Important documents of the underground have also been captured. In addition, we have received a report that 9 hostiles, including 2 Commanding Offi-

cers of two Battalions of underground Naga Army, 2 Sergeant Majors and the so-called President of underground women's organisation surrendered to the Commissioner, Nagaland, on the 18th July with arms and equipment. We have also been informed that the village elders are passing resolutions that they would render all possible assistance to the security forces and would not give any shelter or rations to the underground.

The pace of developmental activities has also been considerably accelerated. A sum of Rs. 15.24 crores has been provided in the Annual Plan of the current year as against the Plan expenditure of Rs. 12 crores approximately last year. The Governor has taken suitable measures to energise the administration to speedily take up various development programmes laying duo emphasis on rural programmes which have immediate impact on the villages. The people are evincing keen interest in developmental activities.

Since Nagaland has heavy monsoons and there are difficulties of communications during rains, it would not be practicable to hold elections by the 25th September, 1975, the date when the validity of the present proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution expires. In view of this and the fact that the Parliament is not likely to be in session in September, it is necessary to obtain approval for further continuance of President's rule for a period of six months. Under proviso to article 356(4), the extension shall be for a period of six months at a time, unless revoked earlier.

In view of this position, I would request the House to grant its approval to the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on 22nd March, 1975, for a further period of six months with effect from 26th September, 1975.

Thank you.

The question was proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Madam, we are very much concerned about the situation in Nagaland. I

would only point to some aspects of the situation, namely, the violent activities. I think the approach of the Government should be to enrol as many of them as possible and for this purpose it is necessary that the democratic institutions function there and the people have a sense of participation in it because these will be functioning very close to those people who have not yet found their way to reason and to behaving in a democratic way as any other Indian citizen should behave.

Now, reference has been made to the underground activities or, what you call, hostile activities. Reference has also been made by the hon. Minister to the surrender of arms. We are very happy that some people are coming over and surrendering their weapons and have decided to take to the way of democracy and peace and live as true citizens of India. They should be wholeheartedly welcome and I think more of such people would come.

But I would have liked him also to refer to some other aspect of the so-called underground activity. These activities, according to our information, are instigated and provoked by certain foreign agents. In the past, reference has been made to that. The weapons which are being sent are foreign weapons and we know that some people living abroad are trying to keep up this kind of violent and subversive activities by a section of the Nagas who have been in a movement of that type.

Madam, only just now we have concluded the discussion about a plot in our country and although the hon. Minister in his speech did not refer to the plot or conspiracy, we for our part highlighted what was happening in Delhi or was about to happen in June was part of a very-well-laid, well-planned, well-brewed conspiracy. Now, Madam, again and again it has been pointed out to this House that some foreign elements have been operating in the eastern region, including Nagaland. Now we have our information. Some of them operate from Calcutta and some even from Delhi. Am I to understand that CIA agents and

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] others who are active in Delhi, instigating rightist forces, would not be interested in fomenting trouble in Nagaland or Mizoram or other vulnerable border areas, sensitive areas? Therefore, it is necessary for the Government to be vigilant not only there but they should be vigilant here in the capital also.

Speaking to the Congress Parliamentary Party, I think, the Congress President, Mr. Borooh warned against the activities of these foreign elements. I understand that in her speech at the rally on 20th June, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi also made similar references to the subversive foreign elements operating in our country. We should like to know what action has been taken against them, how many of them have been apprehended or asked to leave the country. Yet, it is well known that there are people.

Madam, I have got up only to bring it to the notice of the Government and I am glad Mr Brahmananda Reddi, the Union Home Minister is here, because we have no other means of bringing it to the notice of the Government except by private correspondence. But I think this matter should be made public. I know nothing will be published in the Press tomorrow. But I know Members will know, and some day people will know that we have not failed in this regard.

Madam, in this connection we have reason to believe that those who are instigating people here within this part of the country are also instigating the violent elements especially in the border areas as have been mentioned by me earlier, Nagaland being one of them. Well, I think hon. Members should know that on the 23rd of June a meeting took place in Delhi between some leaders of the total revolution and some American elements who are very much interested in spreading trouble all over the country, Nagaland not being excluded.

I won't name the Indian participants in this meeting. The names are with me—and I know they are very well known names—but I would not like to tell those. But since I am on that subject of bringing to the attention of the Government the foreign elements, one of the men who participated in that meeting, a foreigner, was Paul Kreisberg. The other man was Rufus Grant Smith. These two Americans participated in the meeting on 23rd, to which I have referred. The identity of the third man has yet to be established. Have you found out the third man? Two names I have given. Who is this man Kreisberg? There is a book "Who's Who in CIA" by Dr. Julius Mader. This Kreisberg was born in 1929, speaks Mandarin fluently. From 1952 he had been working in the Department of State (United States), and from 1960 for the CIA. He has operated earlier in Bombay, Taichung, Hong Kong and Karachi, besides the home base Washington.

Some other CIA agents identified by Dr. Mader are currently in New Delhi. Here are some. I will give you the names. John Yates—First Secretary and Consular. He was born in 1924. From 1942 to 1946 he was in the Army; from 1952 to 1966 Analyst in the Department of Army; from 1966 in the Department of State. Before coming to New Delhi, he has operated in Rio de Janeiro. George Czuezka—First Secretary. Born in Austria in 1925, he is fluent in German.

In 1945 he got U.S. citizenship. From 1944 to 1948 he was in the Army's G-2, which is in charge of reconnaissance and security; from 1953 in Information Agency and CIA; postings outside include West Berlin, Essen, Dusseldorf and Vienna. Another man—Terence Douglas—Second Secretary. Born in 1939, he was in the Air Force as Lieutenant from 1963 to 1966; in 1966-67 in Air Intelligence Service; from 1967 in Department of State; his first posting is to New Delhi. Then William Grimsley—First Secretary. Born in 1927. In 1945-46 in the Navy; in 1951-52, Analyst in the Department of Army; and from

1952 in the Department of State. He has also operated in Kabul. May I understand that Nagaland is outside his geography and itinerary? This Grimsley was in New Delhi for a term before also. During that period, his name figured in the newspapers as one of the members of the CIA task force set up to interfere in the 1967 general elections in this country. Very recently, his name has again appeared in the newspapers. On May 29, he was identified as the CIA agent in company with two others with quotations from the book "Inside the Company". Now in America, Agency is called Company. In the CIA diary they call it a Company. There is a book by Philip Agee. I have been reading that book. You should also read that book.

I took that book with me abroad and I am still reading it. There are quotations from the Washington monthly "How to spot a Spook" and Washington quarterly "Counterspy". Earlier the fields of operation were listed as Pakistan and another hilly area, Nepal. Such are the people who are operating right in Delhi under one guise or another. The other two are Paul Dillon, First Secretary, and Consul and Norber Garret of the Consulate General in Calcutta. I must say from Calcutta they operate in that region. You know it very well, Madam. You have been visiting this place. They go to Orissa and they meet people. Again and again I had pointed out to this House how these people from Calcutta were going and meeting some so-called opposition leaders in Orissa, the rightist leaders. Even they were meeting a Judge. Well, now this should be taken note of, but you do not listen to me. When I bring this thing to your notice you do not listen. In this House, in the last Session I read out to you a broadcast of the BBC on 8th April at 9 p.m. in which it was said that the Allahabad High Court would give a judgment unseating Mrs. Indira Gandhi. I read out here the BBC propaganda. Now, you are protesting against the BBC. It is good that you are doing it, but I brought it to the notice of the House some months

ago when such a broadcast was made. How such a broadcast could be made I should like to know. Am I to ignore it altogether that the BBC two or three months before the judgment had given it? I have my opinion of that judgment. It is a political judgment in my view, but they were broadcasting that kind of thing. Now, the BBC does not say anything because such people are there and they do not allow it. In no country in the world a Prime Minister has been unseated or sought to be unseated on a technical offence of this kind and even so the matter is pending. Never it has happened. You know very well that it is a technical offence. It is no offence at all in British parliamentary terms, but yet they took it for granted and they broadcast it. Now, some of their papers are saying that such a thing would not be regarded as an offence in England. Now, I have mentioned this thing. Dillon has been named in Agee's book as having been the CIA man in charge of it. He has been a CIA man for twelve years and is giving education to the CIA. Mr. Om Mehta and Mr. Brahma-nanda Reddi, may I ask you this? How your intelligence is working I do not know. I am not a very intelligent man, as you know. I have just a little common-sense with which I live. Now, they should be knowing all these things, as to what was going on. Nothing is functioning from outside the range of their plot. None of your machinery is outside the range of their pilot. These are the people there. Why not identify some of them? You have arrested the people. Why not name some of the CIA men? Declare them as at least *persona non-grata* and ask them to leave the country. The people should know who are operating here. That will be a better way of convincing also international public opinion, which is still vacillating outside the socialist world and the third world with regard to the developments in India. Recently last week, for four or five days I was abroad in Moscow attending the scientific workers' conference on disarmament. Many people talked to me about the Indian developments and I talked to them. Many are concerned, but

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] the moment you point out to them that it is the CIA which has been active on the scene, much of your argument carries conviction because from their own experience these people know in their own countries what CIA means to the democracy of a country and its independence, besides sovereignty to public standards of life. I think, therefore, that it would be a better way. Your White Paper with a blue cover I have read. May I offer you better writers of such a paper? It is a friendly advice. You write the paper in such a manner that it will be counter-productive in some ways. Jayaprakash Narayan conducting good relations with Jawaharlal Nehru tabulated.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Gupta, it has nothing to do with Nagaland.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You cannot go to Nagaland without touching Delhi? Can you go? Without touching Palam you cannot go there. That is why I am touching Delhi before going to Nagaland. This is the position.

Madam, I am reminded of one thing in my young days. You will enjoy the story and you must also be knowing it. In the beginning of the century—I think it was immediately after the first World War ended—the British Government appointed a Committee called the Rowlett Committee to write a report on the activities of Bengal and other terrorists as they called them. That was known as the Sedition Committee. The Sedition Committee published a report. But they wrote it in such a manner that this report became a text book for the revolutionaries for what they called the terrorist movement. Then the British Government had to prescribe the Sedition Committee report. So that is also one way. The British Government did not intend to produce the Sedition Committee's report to be used as a document for provoking the revolutionary, violent

movement. But it happened. Therefore, I think the political leadership should go through such things.

Mr. Brahmananda Reddi, you are a very experienced man, far more experience, and clever than hundreds of Bhupesh Guptas put together. I know that very well. I would request you sometimes to read this thing. One such document was produced by Shri Gulzarilal Nanda of forgotten memory on the C.P.(M) arrests. The result you know very well. I am told Mr. L. P. Singh, with the help of some Joint Secretary, wrote this thing and you know the result. I am not going into it.

Now, coming to Nagaland, as you said very rightly, better be careful. I would request you not to allow any Americans to go there. Americans are in collusion with Peking, and Peking is not very far from the Chinese border. Therefore, you should not allow any Americans or any foreigners of this type to go there as correspondents or some such thing. You should be particularly careful about the missionaries who go there. Collect particulars about all these foreigners who are still there in Nagaland. In fact they should be asked to go. Why should they be there at all? Since you have emergency powers, you should make a law or issue a directive not to allow editors to write what they like. You know I write against the rightists. But I am not allowed to write event that. Ask the American and the British Embassies, who have taken such a hostile attitude towards our country at this critical moment, not to send their men or mission or Consulates, diplomatic or otherwise to such vulnerable areas. You can do that. I do hope some action would be taken against them. These are known people. Madam, I know it for a fact and you may be also knowing them. These facts are not unknown to you. Americans will be angry with us. America has now started the most vitious, violent, scurrilous campaign against your Government and against your Prime Minister. They do

not show us any courtesy. Ask Washington to stop this thing. If they do not stop such things you will be perfectly entitled to take whatever action you like. In any case identify the C.I.A. people whose names I have given, whose particulars I have given. I have mentioned that they were meeting some of the leaders of the rightist Opposition here almost at the time when they were holding their conference to plan their satyagraha on the 29th of June. These people should be identified and they should be asked to quit the country.

Then, Madam, it is not enough not to allow foreign pressmen, Americans, to come in the Press Gallery. What about American diplomats? What about the Consulate? They will come, listen to everything. They can even tape record the whole proceedings. They can carry tape recorders in their pocket. As you know you may also be having one such tape recorder with you. And even if they do not tape record they can manage to keep the proceedings in their memory.

They can send it abroad through diplomatic channels, through the diplomatic bag, through their code. The CIA operates a huge system of code, a message-sending apparatus in their embassy. It is revealed in all the CIA books now. What is the guarantee that they are not sending it? Madam, our views are not going into the press, but I have no doubt in my mind that the discussions yesterday in the Lok Sabha would go out. In the Lok Sabha the galleries were full with foreign diplomats and others and some of them hostile to our country, hostile in particular to Indira Gandhi, will see to it that what they have heard is transmitted to their proper quarters and the press there is fed with them, and you will see such material. You have not allowed the July 14 issue of the *Time* magazine here. I got a copy of it and read it in Moscow. A scurrilous piece, even after you had stopped me July 7 issue, has appeared in that issue. How did they get it? Have they got any

transmission machinery? You should investigate into it. What is the machinery or mechanism that these elements are using for sending their messages and getting them published? I heard a B.B.C. broadcast that Banka Behary Das had been arrested. I heard it in Moscow. Then I came here and found that Banka Behary Das of Orissa had not been arrested. This kind of thing is also going on. Mr. Brah-mananda Reddi, I wish you all luck in this matter. But look after the CIA. Well, these gentlemen are very powerful— I know would be Gandhi, might have been Gandhi, not so Gandhi, some of these people who have been arrested. But the powerful force today is the CIA. We have been shocked to learn from the newspapers, the *Blitz* and the *Patriot* of today that from a source in Tokyo some huge funds came to a particular leader of a particular party associated very closely with the 'Grand Alliance'. You know it very well. Rs. 1,60,000 came from another source. These things should have been known. They should form part of a White Paper. In any case, stop such activities of these people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very glad. Thank you very much. You have appreciated it. You have liked it *more* than anybody else. You like my speech even more than you like me. I want my Congress friends to know that they do not know many things. The Home Minister should brief his partymen. It is not my job to brief your partymen. Surely the AICC General Secretary, currently in the Chair, could be approached for helping you in educating your party ranks about the manner in which the CIA carries on its subversive activities. May I appeal to the AICC leadership, Madam, if you can reach it, that they should also demand some action against those identified CIA agents who are going under the cover of diplomats or under some other cover. Thank you.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH (Nagaland): Madam Vice-Chairman, before I speak on the Resolution, I appreciate the concern of our hon. Member, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, who has been allowed to speak on the activities of the CIA and others and he has taken much time to express himself on this subject. Regarding the Resolution for extension of President's rule in Nagaland, I am sorry that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta does not have a word for the welfare of the Nagas who, for so many years after the achievement of independence, have been kept neglected.

But even today there are many good and great leaders who do not quite understand our problem or appreciate our difficulties and they have no word for our welfare. They only know and see our weaknesses and shortcomings. The trouble is not only in Nagaland, but the trouble is all over India and because of that the proclamation of emergency is there. It is no use to go on blaming the Nagas alone. I would like to inform Shri Bhupesh Gupta that at present there is no foreign national in Nagaland. But there are many from Bengal who come to exploit the business and who also come to exploit the employment chances. Many Nagas today are left without work, loitering in the streets and going about with a mind which is not very healthy I should say. We are only trying to find a way to solve our problems and to absorb these young educated people and to bring them to the national mainstream. I am sorry to say that today we have to pass this Resolution in the House which I am not happy to do because the dissolution of the Assembly was brought about in the most undemocratic way. The Prime Minister herself has said that it is most undemocratic to come in the way of popularly and democratically elected Government.

The UGF was an opposition party some years ago. Because they carried the people with them for the simple reason that they had something to do with the welfare of the people, the people elected them to power and the Democratic Front of Naga-

land came to form the Government. While doing so, the opposition party NNO, with the help of bureaucrats specially those sent from Delhi and the Armed Forces, did all their best to topple the Government. I am sorry to say that a democratically elected Government was thus toppled. Then followed the dissolution of the Assembly. And today we have this President's rule in Nagaland. I know it is inevitable that in the absence of the elected members, the President has to look after the affairs of the State. But today if we are to implement successfully the programmes as announced by the Prime Minister, to which we have extended our welcome and support, we feel very much that every section of people, whether they belong to this party or that party, have to be involved in their implementation. I believe that these programmes are not meant for one party or the other, but it is for the people of India as a whole. Therefore, Government must see that while implementing these programmes, no discrimination is made or shown to any section or any party.

Now, in Nagaland, what is going on? Some of the bureaucrats who have supported the NNO in toppling the UDF Government there, democratically elected not by ourselves, but by the people, continue to harass and threaten our partymen and especially after the Emergency was declared, this has been going on and I feel that the Government will have to see that this is not done because the Home Minister has stated that all the Chief Ministers have been directed to be careful in this respect. But we do not have any Chief Minister in our State and we do not have anybody who really represents the people now. It is only the bureaucrats who are looking after the affairs of the State. Therefore, I appeal to our Home Minister to see that no discrimination is done.

[The Vice-Chairman, Shri V. B. Raju in the Chair.]

Emergency, I feel, is not for a section of the people alone, but it is for all including the Congress members. It in-

eludes all the political parties and all the people and it is in order to involve the people in the successful implementation of these programmes. The only way is to hold elections in Naga-land as early as possible. Let the people elect the representatives to look after their welfare. What we are asking for is only the democratic process. That the Home Minister himself knows and he has himself suited that in the last election, about 95 per cent of the people cast their votes and by that we understand, and the Members here and the Government at the Centre should understand, that more and more people have come to participate in the running of the affairs of the State within the framework of the Constitution. But should he for the sake of 5 per cent, all the 95 per cent of the people are to be victimised or penalised in one way or the other. I should say that it is most unfortunate. Therefore, we should be allowed to participate democratically in the running of the government there. Therefore, I appeal to the Home Minister and the Central leadership here not only to understand our shortcomings and weaknesses, but also to appreciate our difficulties and look after our welfare. We are very happy to note that these economic programmes as announced by the Prime Minister will do good things to us, especially to the common people of India. So, not only as a Member of this House, but also as a party leader, I welcome these measures. But I am sorry to say that the extension of the President's Rule in our State is not liked or appreciated by our people because our people are denied the right to participate in the affairs of the democratic set-up. Therefore, I oppose this Resolution for extension. He has said that the only reason for not holding the election is that September is a rainy month and the elections cannot be held. I say that it is wrong. Whether there is rain or not, we are used to this sort of life and even in the rains our people can go and work in the fields and our people can go and work anywhere and they can go anywhere even without wearing protective clothes. I know, therefore, that our people can go to the polling booths

whether there is rain or not. It is a very wrong argument which has been put forward by our Home Minister and he has no confidence, it seems, in the Nagas. If he announces that there would be elections, I tell you, all the voters, will come forward to participate in the election whether there is rain or not. Therefore, the extension of a bureaucratic Government should be stopped and the life of this bureaucratic Government should be shortened and as early as possible elections should be held in Nagaland so that our people are given an opportunity to participate in the process of democracy and democratic functioning. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SEATO SWU (Nominated) : Sir, the State of Nagaland came into being on 1st December, 1963, and from that day till 21st March this year, Nagaland was under popular government. But as we are aware, because of misbehaviour of a good number of MLAs in Nagaland State, President's rule had to be imposed with effect from 22nd March this year. During these 11 years, for 10 years Nagaland was under the rule of NNO and for one year under UDF. Both of these parties had to face great problems in the matters of developmental works. As you know, Sir, Nagaland is the most Virgin State of India. We are all very thankful to the Central Government for giving special attention to the Nagas. But within these 11 years, nothing much could be done. Since those days, as stated by my colleague, we have been very much neglected. But now I am happy to inform the House that things are very much on the way. Things are coming up nicely.

During those 11 years, neither the NNO Government nor the UDF Government could take effective control of the underground elements. But when President's rule was imposed on Nagaland, it has fallen very heavily on the underground Naga organizations. Never before had these underground people continued to surrender or continued to be captured. The question of the underground has almost become a prestige issue. Quite a good number of them have been arrested. Since the President's rule in Nagaland, we hear very little

[Shri Seato Swu.] about ambush cases, we hear very little about illegal activities and we hear very little about kidnapping. It has very much shattered the organization of the underground. Even some underground boys, when they are asked to go to China, refuse to go there, because they have understood the futility of going to China any more. Also, there is a very clear case of Yale who is the brother of Phizo. He is now in a peace camp. He has now refused to be underground. He is no more leading an underground life. He was the cornerstone in the organization. He came to know that he is losing his following. And what is more is that he is having a clear understanding or appreciation of the position of the Government. Phizo is also showing his willingness to have talks with the Government of India. These are very good signs.

The President's rule in Nagaland had a good impact on Manipur and Mizoram so far as underground activities are concerned because Manipur and Mizoram used to follow the example of Nagaland in the matter of underground activities. It is very encouraging to read in the newspapers that there are an appreciable number of people in Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram coming forward to join the mainstream of national life. After the declaration of President's rule in Nagaland, not less than 205 people have been arrested. 200 people have surrendered voluntarily. More than 250 arms have been captured. Now, we do not hear about any underground people preparing to go to China. These are all good signs. I would support the extension of President's rule in Nagaland for another six months in the interest of peace and prosperity. As we all know, the State of Nagaland is very sensitive politically. Even if the Government gives utmost attention and specially favourable treatment to Nagaland for development, it will be in vain unless there is perfect peace. I can say so from my personal experience. In those days, sumo people tried to do some developmental work and some other people tried to damage those things. In the interest of

having stable Government and permanent progressive development throughout, we have to take absolute control of the underground movement. In order to do that, I think the President's rule for another six months is very much needed. After the President's rule, the Naga people have lost chances of contacting the underground people. In the early stages, a few people reacted to the President's rule thinking that the President's rule means army rule. They were under the impression that the President's rule would bring lawlessness, suffering and misery. It proved to be the reverse case. It was very peaceful and the army people were very helpful to the public and also to the underground people. Those underground people who fell into their hands were properly looked after. I am sorry to refer to one unfortunate case of Dozo. This fellow was beaten to death. It was very unfortunate. It happened under the President's rule. After that, I do not think any other incidence has happened like that. General Rawat is a very kind hearted fellow and he understands the philosophy and psychology of our people. He also knows our politics. Under his leadership, things have very much improved.

Sir, I can tell you that Nagaland has a great future. As I was saying, Nagaland is the most virgin State. We have very valuable mineral resources like coal, oil, asbestos fibre and lime. And if Nagaland is properly developed, I can assure you, Sir, Nagaland can become a good hinterland to the other States of our country. So, to them, the Nagaland people, the means of communication is only by means of road. We do not have any civil aviation; we do not have any railway, except motor roads. And these roads are also very poorly maintained, including the national highway itself. The national highway touches Nagaland for about 60 miles. It starts from Dimapur and ends at Vismema. So, the national highway, as was pointed out by me last time, is very poorly maintained and nobody will believe or take it to be the national highway. So, I would appeal to the

Government that special attention be given to the communication development in Nagaland. It is only then the Nagas will have a better feeling of attachment with the rest of the country. They feel that they are not Indians because they have been separated from the main country for so many years. It was not their fault. It was the fault of the Administration. So, I appeal to the Government that a very sympathetic view and attitude be taken towards the development of Nagaland so that the people at large may be encouraged to enjoy the real brotherhood with the rest of the country. As I said earlier, I do not make this plea in any personal interest or in some party's interest. I am speaking from the national point of view. The great problem before the Government of India is the underground problem in Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland—in the eastern sector. Such an important area of our country is always very sensitive. So, in order to take good control of these underground elements, I would again say that President's Rule should be extended for another six months. Thank you.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Sir, while moving the Motion, I had submitted to the House the circumstances which led to the dissolution of the Assembly, particularly because of the shifting loyalties of many of the members of the legislature. As you are all aware, the policy of this Government has been, as has pointed out more than once on the floor of this House by me or my predecessor or by the Prime Minister during the Question Hour, that there is no constitutional or political problem. Whatever problem was there before, that is over after the agreement and the constitutional amendment was made. So far as the people who surrender are concerned, they are being treated with consideration, they are being helped to rehabilitate themselves. Therefore, Sir, we pursue such a policy by which we have to deal with the underground elements firmly and at the same time deal with those underground people who come out, who surrender, with consideration and sympathy and help them to rehabilitate themselves.

Now, Sir, it is true, as has been said by Bhupeshji, that there is inspiration from outside. Of course, as has been coming in the papers also, there is a great deal of inspiration and also ammunition from China as well. But luckily, as Mr. Scato has just now said, the futility of sending teams to China etc. seems to have been fairly recognised in Nagaland and that is a good thing. As has been said by Mr. Scato again, who is conversant with the affairs of Nagaland, things are looking up nicely; more surrenders are taking place, more arrests are taking place, there is less of recruitment, there is less of forcible collection and there is less of kidnapping. I am sure, if this process continues, you may have a peaceful and harmonious Nagaland and their development will take place quicker.

I am requesting Mr. Lotha who is now the President of the U.D.F. Party—I suppose, is it not? yes—that he has a responsibility and he has to encourage this development. We do not want the President's rule in Nagaland. We do not want the Governor's rule in Nagaland. We want the representatives of Nagaland to govern their territory, the representatives of those people to do it. Therefore, they must help in this process. I request Mr. Lotha particularly as he is the President of the Party to make his own contribution to see that all elements get into the mainstream of national life to take part in the development activity, improve Nagaland better, bring out the mineral wealth, have more of animal husbandry, have more of agriculture, have more of forest industries and let more people get employed. I would request him particularly to help in this process. And, as I have said just now, under the President's administration special steps are being taken—it is not as if it is a normal *status quo* rule—and we are advising the Governor to speed up development in that area. It is not that we are only asking him to keep an eye on the Secessionist or other underground activities, keep a watch on them but to keep the activities of the security forces also under control. Therefore, it is this way alone as

[Shri Brahamananda Reddy,]

leaders of Nagaland that I would request every one of them to understand and appreciate the futility of trying to get any inspiration from anywhere. That does not solve the problem at all. It was during the U.D.F. Government that interception of China-going teams was done.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH: Our Government have expressed the futility of these things openly and this has also been published.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI: Mr. Lotha need not have any fear that there will be no involvement of all Nagas in the development work. Certainly, whoever is prepared to work for the development of Nagaland, they can participate. There will be no discrimination. We want everybody to come in and take part, take an active part in the development of that area and reach the benefits to all sections of the society there.

'6 P.M.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH: I agree provided opportunities are given.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI: Opportunities are there. Dont deny to yourself the opportunity.

Regarding foreigners, Sir, I have already said that nobody can enter Nagaland as anybody can enter other areas. There are inner line regulations. They need the permission of the authorities before entering that area. In fact, not only foreigners but even some others will have to take permission before they enter Nagaland. We have not only a regulation for the North-Eastern Area but we have an inner line regulation also for some areas where permission even for some others inside the country also is necessary Also I may inform the House that no new foreigners are being allowed as a matter of policy and even the foreigners that are there are gradually being reduced.

So far as the other information that Bhupeshji has just now given, we take the information and we keep a watch.

I am glad Mr. Lotha also welcomes the 20-point programme announced by the Prime Minister and I hope all of you will take full advantage of the implementation of this programme.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You say that you keep a watch. What does it mean?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI: We do take the information that you have provided...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Watch is not enough. You will be outwatched. Therefore, I say, before you are outman-euvred, you should act.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI: While we are grateful to you for your information, it should not be thought that we are sleeping.

Secondly, Sir, I am submitting for the consideration of the House that this is because of the difficulty for holding elections in Nagaland. Let us not also deny the fact that in August, September and October there will be very heavy rains and it will be impossible to canvass for elections, to go about and things like that. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that it should be extended and, as in the words of Mr. Scato Swu, after the President's rule so many good things have happened. Development is proceeding apace. Many people are coming overground, trying to get into the mainstream of national life. Many people are realising the futility of getting any outside inspiration or going to so many other places. Therefore, it is a good thing and we are also sure that the experienced Governor that we have in that area will not only look into the law and order situation or the underground problem but also look to the development of Nagaland. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): The question is:

That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 22nd March, 1975, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Nagaland, for a further period' of six months with effect from the 26th September, 1975.

The motion was adopted.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The Constitution (Thirty-second Amendment) Bill, 1973

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:

"I am directed to inform Rajya Sabha, that Lok Sabha, at its sitting held on Tuesday, the 22nd July, 1975 adopted the following motion in regard to the

Constitution (Thirty-second Amendment) Bill, 1973: —

'That this House do recommend to Rajya Sabha that Rajya Sabha do appoint a member of Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Shri Niren Ghosh from Rajya Sabha and do communicate to this House the name of the member so appointed by Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee.'

2. I am to request that the concurrence of Rajya Sabha in the said motion, and also the name of the member of Rajya Sabha so appointed to the Joint Committee, may be communicated to this House."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 AM. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 23rd July, 1975.